

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

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PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1983

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 2262

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS; FROM US REP MBFR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: DRAFT SPEAKING NOTES FOR MARCH 15 NAC BRIEFING
BY REPRESENTATIVE OF AD HOC GROUP

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF DRAFT SPEAKING NOTES FOR THE NAC
BRIEFING ON MARCH 15 SCHEDULED TO BE PRESENTED BY REPS OF
FRG ASSISTED BY NETHERLANDS AND NORWAY REPS. THE AD HOC GROUP
APPROVED DRAFT ON 13 MARCH(SEPTEL).

BEGIN TEXT:

A. FACTUAL ACCOUNT

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1. THIS REPORT COVERS THE PERIOD BETWEEN 15 FEBRUARY AND 14

MARCH. DURING THIS TIME, SIX PLENARIES - THE 23RD TO THE 28TH PLENARY SESSION - TOOK PLACE. DURING THE SAME PERIOD, NATO AND WP NEGOTIATORS AGREED ON A SERIES OF INFORMAL SESSIONS OF WHICH FIVE HAVE BEEN HELD SO FAR.

2. IN THESE PLENARY SESSIONS, THE NATO SIDE CONTINUED TO ELABORATE ON INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS OF ITS PROPOSALS, SUCH AS

- THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT
- SECURITY OF THE FLANKS
- STABILIZING MEASURES
- STABILIZING MEASURES
- VERIFICATION AND
- NON-CIRCUMVENTION.

3. IN PARTICULAR, ON 21 AND 28 FEBRUARY, WE SUBMITTED FOR THE FIRST TIME DETAILS ON THE FOUR STABILIZING MEASURES TABLED ON 22 NOVEMBER. THE AHG WAS ABLE TO DO SO THANKS TO RECEIVING SPECIFIC GUIDANCE FROM THE COUNCIL ON 15 FEBRUARY.

4. THE WP DELEGATIONS ON THE OTHER HAND FOLLOWED THEIR PRACTICE OF ARGUING EACH TIME IN FAVOR OF ALL ELEMENTS OF THEIR DRAFT TREATY. IN DOING SO, THEY STRESSED AGAIN AND AGAIN THAT

- FROM THE OUTSET
- ALL FORCES OF
- ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE REDUCED, AND BE IT ONLY AT FIRST IN A SYMBOLIC WAY.

THIS WAS DEMANDED, ON FEBRUARY 19, AS A "CONDITION SINE QUA NON" OF THE CONTINUATION OF EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. IN THE PURSUIT OF THIS, ON 7 MARCH, THE CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND FORCES WAS CRITICIZED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A PLENARY SESSION AS A "LOGICAL PROJECTION" OF THE "ARTIFICIAL DISPARITIES" CLAIMED BY NATO.

5. THE SOVIET CHIEF DELEGATE ALLEGED ON 21 FEBRUARY AND AGAIN ON 7 MARCH THAT OF THE STABILIZING MEASURES PROPOSED BY US ONLY ONE - THE PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE MOVEMENT OF US AND SOVIET FORCES INTO THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS - WAS OF NECESSITY
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CONNECTED WITH FORCE REDUCTIONS. THE OTHER MEASURES WERE NOT TO BE CONSIDERED "ASSOCIATED MEASURES" AND COULD, THEREFORE, NOT BE CONSIDERED AS HAVING ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE AGREED SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS.

6. THE INFORMAL SESSIONS MENTIONED WERE BASED ON AN INFORMAL PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENT CONCLUDED ON 26 FEBRUARY ACCORDING TO WHICH

- A SERIES OF INITIALLY SEVEN INFORMAL SESSIONS WITH THREE PARTICIPANTS FROM EACH SIDE WOULD BE DEVOTED TO
- "GROUND FORCES OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" (3 SESSIONS)
- "OTHER TOPICS" (4 SESSIONS),
- IT BEING UNDERSTOOD THAT THE FIRST SESSION WOULD BE DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES WHILE UNDER "OTHER TOPICS" THE EAST WOULD RAISE NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCED; THE WEST WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO RAISE DURING THE LAST SESSION QUESTIONS OF ITS CHOICE.

7. THESE BI-WEEKLY INFORMAL SESSIONS, USUALLY LASTING 3 - 4 HOURS, IN WHICH ON THE BASIS OF AD HOC NOMINATIONS IN THE NATO GROUP, AND ON BASIS OF AD HOC NOMINATIONS IN THE NATO GROUP, AND ON BASIS OF PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT, THE AMBASSADORS OF BELGIUM, CANADA, GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN, THE NETHERLANDS AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE SO FAR PARTICIPATED. AHG REPRESENTATIVES HAVE FOLLOWED TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY AHG.

8. DURING THE FIRST THREE SESSIONS ON 27 FEBRUARY, 4 AND 7 MARCH, THE NATO DELEGATES, WITHOUT INDICATING ANY FLEXIBILITY WHATSOEVER, PRESSED FOR THE ACCEPTANCE OF

- A PHASED APPROACH
- FOCUSING ON US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN PHASE I
- RECOGNITION OF THE NEED TO ABOLISH THE DISPARITIES IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF GROUND FORCES
- ADVOCATING AT THE SAME TIME THE COMMON CEILING GOAL OF NATO BEARINGIN MIND THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE FLANKS.

IN DOING SO, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS USED AHG-AGREED LANGUAGE, E.G., ON US/SOVIET GROUND FORCES, POINTS MADE ON 2-PHASE PROGRAM, TOKEN REDUCTIONS, EXCLUSION OF NUCLEAR AND
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AIR FORCES, AND USED PREPARED ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS RAISED.

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O P 141222Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIOTITY

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

9. IN ORDER TO GIVE ADDITIONAL CREDIBILITY TO THEIR
READINESS TO ADDRESS ON THE ALLIED SIDE GROUND FORCES
OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN A SECOND PHASE, THE
NATO DELEGATES, AS AUTHORIZED BY THE AHG, POINTED OUT
IN PARTICULAR THAT

-"THE SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS COULD START WITHIN A
FIXED PERIOD OF TIME AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF A
SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE
AGREEMENT ON THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT. THE DURATION
OF THIS FIXED PERIOD WOULD BE AGREED LATER IN THE
COURSE OF THE PHASE I NEGOTIATIONS" (4MARCH).

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-"ALLIES WERE NOT PREPARED TO CONSIDER MAKING FURTHER
COMMITMENTS BEYOND WHAT THEY HAD ALREADY TOLD EAST
REGARDING WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II
REDUCTIONS IN THE ABSENCE OF EQUIVALENT COMMITMENTS
TO ALLIED PROPOSED COMMON CEILING AS THE OUTCOME OF
PHASE II" (7MARCH).

10. THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES, AS USUAL DOMINATED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATES, SHOWED SOME FLEXIBILITY WITHOUT COMMITTING THEMSELVES, HOWEVER, TO IDEAS LAUNCHED BY THEM. THEY ENGAGED IN SERIOUS AND RATHER DETAILED DISCUSSIONS, PARTIALLY GOING BEYOND THE USUAL ARGUMENTATION IN PLENARIES. I ASSUME THAT THE DETAILS ARE KNOWN TO YOU FROM THE REPORTING OF YOUR DELEGATIONS IN VIENNA.

11. THE 27 FEBRUARY MEETING CENTERED AROUND THE FOLLOWING ISSUES: A) TIME NEEDED FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF US/SOVIET PHASE I REDUCTIONS.

B) IDENTIFICATION OF UNITS TO BE WITHDRAWN (: IN OR AFTER AGREEMENT? INFORMATION OR JOINT DETERMINATION?)

C) PARTICIPATION OF THE US AND THE SU IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS. (: CHLESTOW INDICATED THAT THERE WOULD BE "A CLEARLY DIFFERENT SITUATION" IF THESE TWO COUNTRIES WERE TO PARTICIPATE AGAIN IN PHASE 2).

D) FORCE DATA (: NO EASTERN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OR DENIAL OF WESTERN DATA YET EXCEPT DOUBTS AS TO INCLUSION OF FRENCH FORCES IN THE 777,000 FIGURE).

12. DURING THE 4 MARCH SESSION, CHLESTOW SOUNDED OUT THREE PROPOSALS OF WHICH THE FIRST TWO LISTED BY ME TURNED OUT TO BE OF ARGUMENTATIVE CHARACTER ONLY:

A) TO WITHDRAW IN A 1ST PHASE (GROUND?) FORCES OF (ONLY) THE "FOREIGN" (STATIONED) FORCES IN THE AREA, PRESUMABLY OF CANADA, GREAT BRITAIN, THE US AND THE SU. (WESTERN DELEGATES IN THIS AND THE FOLLOWING SESSION STRONGLY MAINTAINED THAT BRITISH FORCES WERE NOT "FOREIGN" BUT EUROPEAN; NATO DELEGATES ACCEPTED ONLY THE AGREED DIVISION OF DIRECT AND SPECIAL STATUS PARTICIPANTS AND THE PRACTICAL ONE OF US AND SOVIET FORCES.)

B) TO WITHDRAW (INITIALLY?) 15PER CENT OF THE GROUND FORCES
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OF THE US, SU, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND GDR.

C) TO REDUCE IN A FIRST STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS A TOTAL OF 20,000 SOLDIERS ON EACH SIDE WITH THE PROVISION THAT

-ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD REDUCE

-EACH SIDE WOULD DETERMINE THE SPLITTING UP OF THE TOTAL OF 20,000 SOLDIERS AMONG ITSELF

-THERE WOULD BE NO NATIONAL CEILINGS, BUT ONLY A SINGLE GLOBAL CEILING ON BOTH SIDES PLUS A LIMITATION ON THE INCREASE OF FORCES IN TH AREA FROM THE OUTSIDE.

CHLESTOW PUSHED, AND ELABORATED ON, THIS PROPOSAL ON

7 MARCH, STRESSING THAT

-TOTAL REDUCTIONS COULD BE AS 1 PER CENT OF THE
FORCES ON EACH SIDE,

-THE AGREEMENT COULD BE LIMITED IN TIME TO PERHAPS
ONE YEAR

-IT COULD STATE THAT THIS BASIS FOR THE REDUCTION OF
THE FIRST STAGE DID NOT ESTABLISH A PRECEDENT FOR
FUTURE STAGES.

CHLESTOW STRESSED, HOWEVER, AT THE SAME OCCASION THAT
THE WP HAD NOT MOVED CLOSER TO ACCEPTING THE WESTERN
IDEA OF PHASING.

13. THE NATO DELEGATES WELCOMED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
IDEA OF A GLOBAL CEILING IN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. THEY
POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THIS PROPOSAL OTHERWISE STILL
IMPLIED THE DRAWBACKS OF THE ORIGINAL WP FIRST STAGE
PROPOSAL: TO APPLY EQUAL QUANTITATIVE REDUCTIONS IN A
SITUATION OF DISPARITY, LEADING POTENTIALLY TO A FREEZING
OF THIS DISPARITY TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF NATO. THE ALLIANCE
WAS NOT INTERESTED IN TOKEN, BUT IN REAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO
AN ENHANCEMENT OF STABILITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. AT THE SAME
TIME, THE WESTERN DELEGATES LEFT NO DOUBT THAT A COMMON
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CEILING PROVISION MUST BE PART OF ANY FIRST PHASE
AGREEMENT AND IN THIS CONTEXT ASKED POINTED QUESTIONS
ABOUT THE REASONS FOR THE EASTERN RELUCTANCE TO
CONSIDER A COMMON CEILING, BE IT AS A GENERAL CONCEPT,
BE IT APPLIED TO GROUND FORCES.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS; FROM US REP MBFR

B. ASSESSMENT

1. THE AHG WILL PROVIDE THE COUNCIL WITH AN ASSESSMENT OF THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION IN GENERAL IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE EASTER RECESS 11 APRIL-6 MAY).

2. AT THE PRESENT STAGE IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO DRAW CONCLUSIONS ON THE POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF THE INFORMAL SESSIONS. IT IS, HOWEVER, POSSIBLE ALREADY TO CONCLUDE THAT

- THE NATO SIDE CONVINCINGLY DEMONSTRATED ITS CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS

- BOTH SIDES NOW UNDERSTAND BETTER THAN BEFORE IMPORTANT DETAILS OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE OTHER SIDE

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- THE WP NEGOTIATORS ARE IN A BETTER POSITION TO JUDGE THE VITAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE ALLIES OF KEY ELEMENTS OF ALLIED PROPOSALS; THE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS ARE LIKELY TO BENEFIT IN A SIMILAR WAY FROM THE FORTHCOMING EXCHANGES

- THE EAST HAS THEREFOR SHOWN FLEXIBILITY ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS PROPOSAL FOR SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS (GLOBAL CEILINGS, LIMITATION OF ENTRY OF FORCES FROM OUTSIDE, POSSIBILITY OF SEPARATE AGREEMENT;).

3. THE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED BEING DRAWN INTO A DISCUSSION ON THE BASIS OF THE WEP TREATY PROJECT. MOREOVER THEY INSIST, AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO, ON A DISCUSSION OF THE ENTIRE RANGE OF THEIR PROPOSALS, INCLUDING SECURITY OF THE FLANKS AND STABILIZING MEASURES.

4. COMMUNIST NEWS MEDIA HAVE INCREASINGLY TRIED TO INTERFERE

IN THE NEGOTIATION THROUGH CREATING PRESSURE VIA WESTERN
PUBLIC OPINION AND THROUGH DIVISION AMONG THE ALLIES. THEY
HAVE NOT UCCEDED. THE EASTERN PRESS CAMPAIGN RATHER UNDER-
LINES THE NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN OUR RESOLVE: TO NEGOTIATE WITH
PATIENCE AND IN COMPLETE WESTERN HARMONY. END TEXT HUMES

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